

## Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

ACDA-05 MC-02 OMB-01 TRSE-00 EB-07 COME-00 XMB-02

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R 220755Z OCT 75

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4265

INFO AMEMBASSY SEOUL

COMUSJAPAN YOKOTA JAPAN

CINCPAC HONOLULU HAWAII

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 15074

CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR JA

SUBJECT: NEW CONCEPTS FOR DEFENSE PLANNING

SUMMARY: RECENT JDA STATEMENTS ON FUTURE DEFENSE PLANNING EMPHASIZE THE CONCEPT OF "LIMITS ON DEFENSE POWER IN PEACE TIME" -- THAT IS, THE POWER THAT IS NECESSARY TO PRESERVE PEACE BY REPELLING SMALL-SCALE ATTACKS. THIS CONCEPT APPEARS AIMED AT PROVIDING A MORE CREDIBLE AND POLITICALLY DEFENSIBLE RATIONALE FOR SAKATA'S STRESS ON QUALITATIVE IMPROVEMENTS IN JAPAN'S MODEST DEFENSE FORCES. END SUMMARY.

1. IN LIGHT OF PREPARATIONS FOR THE JDA'S POST FOURTH DEFENSE PLAN DEVELOPMENT, JDA MINSTATE SAKATA HAS RECENTLY MADE STATEMENTS ON A NEW DEFENSE CONCEPT. TWO FREQUENTLY-REPEATED PHRASES IN HIS PRESENTATIONS HAVE BEEN "LIMITS ON DEFENSE POWER IN PEACETIME" AND "DETERRENT POWER".

2. ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS, SAKATA INTENDS TO LAY THE  
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CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE POST-FOURTH DEFENSE PLAN

PERIOD (JFY-77) BY REVISING THE PREVIOUS RATIONALE OF "STRENGTHENING DEFENSE POWER TO COPE WITH THE MILITARY POWER OF NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES". JDA LEADERS AS WELL AS THE ASSOCIATION TO CONSIDER DEFENSE HAVE REASONED THAT UNDER THE PROTECTION OF THE MST THERE IS LITTLE LIKELIHOOD OF A MASSIVE ATTACK ON JAPAN AND THEREFORE "DETERRENT POWER" TO REPEL SMALL SCALE SURPRISE ATTACKS IS A PROPER GOAL FOR JAPAN'S DEFENSE FORCES. INSTEAD OF QUANTITATIVE EXPANSION, JDA DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS WOULD BE CHanneLED INTO QUALITATIVE IMPROVEMENTS TO PRESENT A CREDIBLE "PEACE-KEEPING" CAPABILITY. SAKATA HAS ALSO GIVEN ADDED EMPHASIS TO THE IMPORTANCE OF SDF DISASTER RELIEF MISSIONS.

3. THE PRESS HAS SPECULATED THAT THE IDEA OF PEACE-TIME LIMITS MAY ENCOUNTER RESISTANCE FROM THE UNIFORMED SERVICES, WHICH STILL FAVOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF DEFENSE POWER IN RELATION TO HYPOTHETICAL ENEMIES, AS WELL AS FROM OPPOSITION CHARGES THAT THE PLAN WILL STRENGTHEN THE PRESENT STRUCTURE OF US-JAPAN SECURITY RELATIONS THROUGH CONFIRMING JAPAN'S DEPENDENCE ON THE MST. EDITORIAL COMMENTS HAVE NOTED THAT PEACE-TIME LIMITS WILL NOT PUT AN END TO QUANTITATIVE GROWTH (PARTICULARLY IN MSDF SHIP CONSTRUCTION) AND THAT QUALITATIVE IMPROVEMENTS WILL STILL MEAN CONSIDERABLE BUDGETARY EXPENDITURES IN A PERIOD OF DECELERATING ECONOMIC GROWTH.

4. COMMENT: THE CONCEPT OF DEFENSE POWER LIMITS IN PEACE TIME WAS ACTUALLY INTRODUCED BY JDA OFFICIALS IN EARLY 1973. EXCEPT FOR A SLIGHT INCREASE IN NAVAL SHIP TONNAGE, THE QUANTITATIVE GOALS FOR THE SDF OUTLINED THEN WERE NOT SIGNIFICANTLY DIFFERENT FROM THOSE OF THE FOURTH DEFENSE PLAN. PRESENT DESCRIPTIONS OF "DETERRENT POWER" ARE ALMOST IDENTICAL TO STATEMENTS DEFINING THE MISSION AND SIZE OF THE SDF IN THE FOURTH DEFENSE PLAN.

5. TALKS WITH JDA OFFICIALS HAVE TENDED TO CONFIRM OUR IMPRESSION THAT SAKATA'S STATEMENTS ON QUALITATIVE RATHER THAN QUANTITATIVE DEVELOPMENT MAY REFLECT MORE POLITICS THAN SUBSTANCE. OVER THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS, INFLATION, REDUCED ECONOMIC EXPANSION, AND CONTINUED POLITICAL SENSITIVITIES HAVE CAUSED SIGNIFICANT SHORTFALLS IN THE

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ALREADY MODEST GOALS OF THE FOURTH DEFENSE PLAN. IN KEEPING WITH EFFORTS TO PROMOTE GREATER PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING OF DEFENSE ISSUES, THE JDA MAY NOW BE TRYING A NEW APPROACH TO RATIONALIZE PREVIOUSLY PLANNED SDF FORCE LEVELS. PRESS COMMENTS TO THE CONTRARY, "LIMITS ON DEFENSE POWER IN PEACETIME" WILL TEND TO REFUTE OPPOSITION CHARGES OF UNLIMITED SDF BUILD-UP THAT HAVE DOGGED EARLIER DEFENSE PLANS. IT WILL ALSO FINESSE THE QUESTION OF WHO THREATENS JAPAN. AS

SUCH, THE CONCEPT WILL PROBABLY HAVE GREATER POLITICAL  
ACCEPTABILITY IN A PERIOD OF DETENTE DIPLOMACY AND MORE  
MODEST ECONOMIC GROWTH. FINALLY, THE NEW APPROACH FITS IN NICELY  
WITH WHAT APPEAS AN IMPORTANT JDA CONCERN -- THAT OF  
QUALITATIVE IMPROVEMENTS WITHIN THE SDF'S LIMITED SIZE. WE  
CAN EXPECT THE THEME OF PEACE-TIME LIMITS IN DEFENSE POWER  
TO FIGURE SIGNIFICANTLY IN THE SECOND DEFENSE WHITE PAPER  
NOW UNDER PREPARATION.  
HODGSON

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** PRESS COMMENTS, MILITARY PLANS, DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS, MILITARY POLICIES, DEFENSIVE CAPABILITIES  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 22 OCT 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** BoyleJA  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1975TOKYO15074  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D750366-0483  
**From:** TOKYO  
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**Legacy Key:** link1975/newtext/t19751031/aaaabbkv.tel  
**Line Count:** 124  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION EA  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** BoyleJA  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 16 JUL 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <16 JUL 2003 by MartinML>; APPROVED <16 JUL 2003 by BoyleJA>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
06 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** NEW CONCEPTS FOR DEFENSE PLANNING SUMMARY: RECENT JDA STATEMENTS ON FUTURE DEFENSE PLANNING  
**TAGS:** MARR, JA, JDA, (SAKATA)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006